

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 DODE-00 H-01
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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1459

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 4664

STATE FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE BELGRADE: REVISED VERSION OF NNA PAPER

REF: (A) BELGRADE 4567, (B) BELGRADE 4565

SUMMARY: NINE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED STATES (NNA) PRODUCED
SLIGHTLY REFURBISHED VERSION OF THEIR PACKAGAE PROPOSAL
PAPER ON AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION FOR MAIN MEETING. IT
WAS DISCUSSED INCONCLUSIVELY AT INFORMAL AFTERNOON CON-
SULTATIONS JULY 11 ATTENDED BY ALL 35 PARTICIPATING
STATES. END SUMMARY.

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1. NNA DISTRIBUTED NEW VERSION OF THEIR PAPER AT OUTSET
OF INFORMAL DRAFTING CONSULTATIONS JULY 11, WHICH EXCEPT
FOR FACT THAT SWISS CHAIRED MEETINGS "COORDINATOR", WERE

VIRTUALLY INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM DRAFTING GROUP MEETINGS
OF PAST TWO WEEKS. NEW PAPER, WHICH WAS INTENDED TO RE-

FLECT REFINEMENTS AGREED TO BY NNA AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER DELS, WAS ONLY SLIGHTLY MODIFIED VERSION OF ORIGINAL "NON-PAPER" INTRODUCED JULY 7. (FOR DEPARTMENT'S CONVENIENCE, WE ARE TRANSMITTING REVISED NNA PAPER BY SEPTTEL.) AGENDA SECTION WAS IDENTICAL EXCEPT THAT IT USED TERM "CONCLUDING DOCUMENT" INSTEAD OF "FINAL DOCUMENT". MAIN CHANGES IN ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION INCLUDED:

A. TITLE OF PART II OF PAPER

22 READS "ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK, TIME-TABLE AND OTHER MODALITIES".

B. COMMITTEES ARE NOW CALLED "SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES" RATHER THAN "WORKING GROUPS".

C. POINTS 3, 4, AND 6, HAVE BEEN RENUMBERED AS POINTS 7, 8, AND 11 AND WORDING HAS BEEN MODIFIED IN NON-SUBSTANTIVE WAYS. OTHER POINTS HAVE AS CONSEQUENCE ALSO BEEN RENUMBERED.

D. POINT 5 ON CONTRIBUTIONS OF MEDITERRANEAN STATES (OLD POINT 9) HAS HAD ADDED TO IT IDEA THAT DATE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WILL FALL DURING THIRD WEEK OF MEETING.

E. POINT 6 (FORMERLY POINT 10) ON WORK PROGRAM HAS REVISED

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PREVIOUS PROVISION THAT PLENARY WOULD SET NEW WORK PROGRAM EVERY THREE WEEKS AND ITSELF MEET AS A RULE TWICE WEEKLY AFTER SECOND WEEK. IN ITS STEAD IS STATEMENT THAT MEETINGS OF PLENARY AND SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES WILL BE HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH AN ANNEXED WORK PROGRAM AND THAT "THE SUBSEQUENT WORKING PROGRAMS SHALL REFLECT THE RHYTHM

OF WORK OF THE LAST TWO WEEKS OF THE ANNEXED WORKING PROGRAM, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PROGRESS MADE BY THE VARIOUS WORKING BODIES". NNA HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO PRODUCE ANNEX JULY 12 WHICH WILL INCLUDE WORK PROGRAM FOR FIRST THREE WEEK PERIOD OF CLOSED SESSIONS.

2. NNA SOUGHT TO USE INFORMAL MEETING JULY 11 TO IDENTIFY CONCRETE DRAFTING CHANGES IN THEIR DRAFT, BUT DELEGATIONS GENERALLY EXHIBITED UNWILLINGNESS TO MOVE OFF ESTABLISHED POSITIONS. SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES RESTATED POSITION ON ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS TAKEN IN MORNING PLENARY AND REQUESTED THAT FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL PART OF NNA PAPER IN INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUP BE DEFERRED UNTIL FURTHER PLENARY DEBATE HELD JULY 12.

3. FOLLOWING ARE POINTS OF INTEREST WHICH EMERGED FROM
INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUP'S RUN-THROUGH OF AGENDA PORTION
OF REVISED NNA PAPER:

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 4664

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FROM USDEL CSCE

A. ROMANIA SUGGESTED THAT AGENDA BE PRECEDED BY FACTUAL
PARAGRAPH STATING THAT MEETING OPENED JUNE 15, HEARD
WELCOMING ADDRESS BY YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER, ETC. SOVIETS
INSISTED THAT TITLE OF MAIN MEETING SHOULD BE REPRODUCED
EXACTLY AS IT APPEARS IN FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF FINAL ACT
(I.E., "MEETING AT THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED
BY THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS").

B. THERE WERE NO OBJECTIONS TO NNA FORMULATIONS OF
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AGENDA ITEMS 1 AND 2.

C. UK EXPRESSED PREFERENCE TO LIST AGENDA ITEM ON CONTRIBUTIONS OF ECE, UNESCO AND NON-PARTICIPATING STATES AFTER ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. POLISH AND GDR REPS ARGUED FOR RETENTION OF PRESENT ORDER.

D. FRG, US, ITALY AND UK SAID THEY CONTINUED TO FAVOR SEPARATING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS IN AGENDA ITEM 4 ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AT LEAST BY USE OF SMALL (A) AND SMALL (B).

E. POLISH AND BULGARIAN REPS URGED THAT AGENDA ITEM 5 ON FOLLOW-UP REPRODUCE FINAL ACT LANGUAGE. THEY INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY MIGHT ACCEPT REFERENCE TO

EXPERTS MEETINGS IF "INCLUDING" WAS CHANGED TO "WHICH COULD INCLUDE" LANGUAGE OF FINAL ACT. ROMANIANS INSISTED THAT THERE MUST BE REFERENCE TO EXPERTS MEETINGS, AND FRG SUGGESTED FORMULA "DEFINITION OF THE APPROPRIATE MODALITIES FOR THE HOLDING OF OTHER MEETINGS, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE FINAL ACT", WHICH ROMANIANS AND POLES SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER.

F. POLES INSISTED THAT AGENDA ITEM 6 ON CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SHOULD NOT PREJUDGE WHETHER THERE WOULD BE FOLLOW-UP TO BELGRADE. THEY SAID FOLLOW-UP DEPENDED ON WHETHER BELGRADE WAS CONSTRUCTIVE OR CONFRONTATIONAL, AND SAID FURTHERST THEY COULD GO AT THIS POINT WAS TO SAY "DRAFTING AND ADOPTION OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WHICH WILL INCLUDE AGREED PROPOSALS RELATING TO ABOVE-MENTIONED ITEMS OF THE
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AGENDA". ROMANIANS INSISTED THAT FORMULATION OF THIS ITEM MUST INCLUDE TWO ELEMENTS: REFERRING TO ABILITY OF MEETING TO TAKE DECISIONS, NOT MERELY TO CONSULT OR ISSUE RECOMMENDATIONS, AND COMMITMENT TO HOLDING SECOND BELGRADE-STYLE MEETING. SWISS, AUSTRIANS, FRG AND NETHERLANDS INDICATED THAT "AGREED PROPOSALS", WHICH POLES HAD EXPLAINED WERE ESSENTIALLY RECOMMENDATIONS, WAS TOO WEAK. IF THAT PHRASE WERE USED, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE LINKED WITH REFERENCE TO "DECISIONS".

G. FRG SUGGESTED THAT "ADOPTION OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT" SHOULD

BE SEPARATED FROM AGENDA ITEM ON DRAFTING OF THAT DOCUMENT, AND COMBINED WITH CLOSING STATEMENTS AS TWO-POINT SEVENTH ITEM WHICH WOULD OCCUR IN PUBLIC SESSION. LATER SPEAKERS REFERRED TO "ADOPTION OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT" AS A POSSIBLE NEW SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM 7, WITH EXISTING ITEMS 7 AND 8 TO ZM RENUMBERED 8 AND 9.

H. AGENDA ITEM 8 RECOVERED NO COMMENTS.

4. COMMENT: WE WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO JUDGE CHANGES IN NNA PAPER WHEN WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY PROMISED ANNEX WITH WORK PROGRAM FOR FIRST THREE WEEKS OF CLOSED SESSION. OUR IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, IS THAT NNA HAVE MADE ONLY SUPERFICIAL CHANGES, WHILE MAINTAINING THEIR BASIC POINT THAT THERE MUST BE AN ORGANIZATIONAL FRAME-
WORK IN WHICH STRONG COMMITTEES CAN OPERATE FOR A SUFFICIENT LENGTH OF TIME TO ENSURE THROUGH CONSIDERATION OF BOTH IMPLEMENTATION RECORD AND NEW PROPOSALS. REVISION OF POINT 6 WAS DONE PARTLY TO MEET EC-9 OBJECTION THAT NNA DRAFT SHOULD GIVE SOME IDEA OF RELATIVE WORK DIVISION BETWEEN PLENARY AND SUBSIDIARY BODIES TO FORESTALL SOVIET EFFORT TO HANG UP PROGRESS OF MAIN MEETING WITH PROCEDURAL DEBATES ON WORK PROGRAM EVERY THREE WEEKS.

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5. ONE FURTHER POINT OF INTEREST WHICH HAS EMERGED IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS OVER LAST FEW DAYS RELATES TO MEDITERRANEAN. WE HAD NOTED, REF A, THAT NNA FORMULATION APPEARED TO INDICATE THAT MALTA HAD AGREED THAT CONTRIBUTIONS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 4664

STATE FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

OF NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WOULD ONLY BE IN
PLENARY, NOT IN OTHER COMMITTEES AS WELL. THIS INTERPRE-
TATION WAS BASED ON INITIAL READING OF PHRASE "MAKE THEIR
CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE PLENARY AFTER THE GENERAL DEBATE...
AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RELEVANT DECISION TAKEN BY THE
PREPARATORY MEETING". IT HAS NOW BECOME APPARENT THAT
MALTESE READ THIS FORMULATION AS MEANING THAT CONTRIBU-
TIONS WILL BE A) IN PLENARY AND B) ELSEWHERE IN ACCORDANCE
WITH AN AS YET UNSPECIFIED DECISION OF PREPARATORY MEETING.
MALTESE INTENTION IS TO PROPOSE THAT PREPARATORY MEETING TAKE
DECISION THAT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WILL
ALSO HAVE SEMI-PERMANENT PARTICIPATION IN MEDITERRANEAN
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COMMITTEE THROUGHOUT FALL MEETING. IN ACCORDANCE WITH
TRADITIONAL MALTESE CSCE TACTICS, THIS PROPOSAL WILL
PROBABLY BE MADE FORMALLY ONLY LATE IN PREPARATORY MEETING,
AFTER BULK OF AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES
HAVE BEEN AGREED, AND WHEN LEVERAGE MALTESE MIGHT GAIN
BY HOLDING UP CONSENSUS WILL BE GREATEST. (TEXT OF PRO-
POSAL MALTESE ARE NOW FLOATING INFORMALLY BEING TRANSMITTED
BY SEPTTEL) END COMMENT.
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